1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed.

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga.

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told:

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing:

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

Other Occupations

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

tic cultivation and the adoption of proper curing methods could lead to a more plentiful and superior supply of tobacco, and might even give the country a new export. Export markets might also be found for corn, hemp, ginger, chillies, candlenuts and kava.

One or two secondary industries might also be developed. If cotton proved a practical crop, a cottage weaving industry would be a distinct possibility. Silk might be developed in the same way, since mulberries flourish in Tonga. Sugar cane flourishes too, yet no attempt has been made to extract sugar, which is imported from Fiji. A small industry could provide all the sugar the country needs, and the buffalo mills employed in North Borneo might prove suitable for this purpose. The Tongans take great pride in personal cleanliness, but cannot afford to buy much soap. There is always plenty of copra: a livestock industry would ensure ample tallow, and the country would both increase soap consumption and save foreign exchange by setting up a small soap factory.

Mr. Cottrell-Dormer made a rough estimate of the cost of his complete scheme over the ten years he considered necessary to establish it firmly. His figure was £100,000, or less than half the amount of the Kingdom's foreign investments. So far the War and other difficulties have prevented much being done to realise its very attractive possibilities. There have been recent attempts to reform agricultural education, but apart from them the only important step has been the Agricultural Organisation Act of 1940.[1]

The Director's scheme shows that much can be done to improve Tonga's farming, its export trade and its standard of living. The Agricultural Organisation Act, even if it is still in the initial and tentative stage of administration, shows that the government is conscious of the need for such improvement, and is prepared to do something about it. The institutions already set up have made a good start and

[1] This Act sought to encourage planting, to promote co-operative effort, and to control the marketing of export products. Local Producers' Associations are to be set up, under the leadership of the town officers, with the general object of improving farming, and for such specific purposes as the acquisition and operation of hot-air driers. At the same time four export boards have been established. The Banana Board has already achieved an improvement in the quality of banana exports by making inspections more thorough, and by insisting upon the use of knives for harvesting. It has also encouraged the use of locally made cases. The Copra Board is now the sole purchaser of copra and has already secured improved export quality by introducing differential prices according to grade, and by refusing to purchase green copra. These authorities are all subject to a Council of Agriculture which co-ordinates their functions, and which gives them financial aid from an Agricultural and Industrial Development Fund, established by a government loan of £1,000. The Council also acts as an advisory body to the Minister of Agriculture.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

592 241 476 602 share with unrelated households in preference to sharing with related ones.[32]

One of my informants deliberately played down the role of kinship in land matters. He argued that landless people share the use of the land of their friends, people with whom they are on specially good terms; people who are closely associated in other spheres of activity, such as the religious or the economic; and above all one tries to obtain the use of lands which are specially fertile or which lie near to the village. While "friends" here may include relatives, this is not necessary. Such an explanation would, of course, cover the cases which, from other points of view, appear to be inexplicable random variations; and at the same time show how "open" relations through the land can be, giving the land tenure system much of its flexibility.

592 241 476 572 602

Thus it has appeared that kinship plays no great part in the organisation of labour, but a perceptibly greater part in the handling of the land resources available to the community. But kinship not only affects the people's relation to their land in the way already indicated; it also does so through inheritance. The rules of inheritance have already been given, but it may be added here that it is through inheritance that particular individuals come to control a duplication of *api*;[33] that females can hold land; and that the title to *tofia* holdings is passed on from one generation to the next in the chiefly line thus perpetuating and strengthening the most important factor for political control in the kingdom.

474 602 311 [476]

In the village under investigation, however, the range of kin recognized for these purposes does not seem to extend very far. While there are clusters of households between whom there are specially strong ties of kinship, the great majority of them recognize such relations with only one or two other households. The count taken, from one household to the next, reveals that in most cases these relations are based on affinal ties. The range of connections over the whole village is as follows:

592 602

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF KIN AMONG HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Other Households containing Kin	No. of Households
0	18
1	21
2	28
3	16
4	11
5	8
6	4
	106

[32] The reasons for such preference are obscure, but the explanations given to me were largely in terms of economic self-interest. See, for instance, the section on work groups, p. 108.

[33] See, for instance, Beaglehole 1941:18.

342
531
297

[Caption for this photo is on page 18]

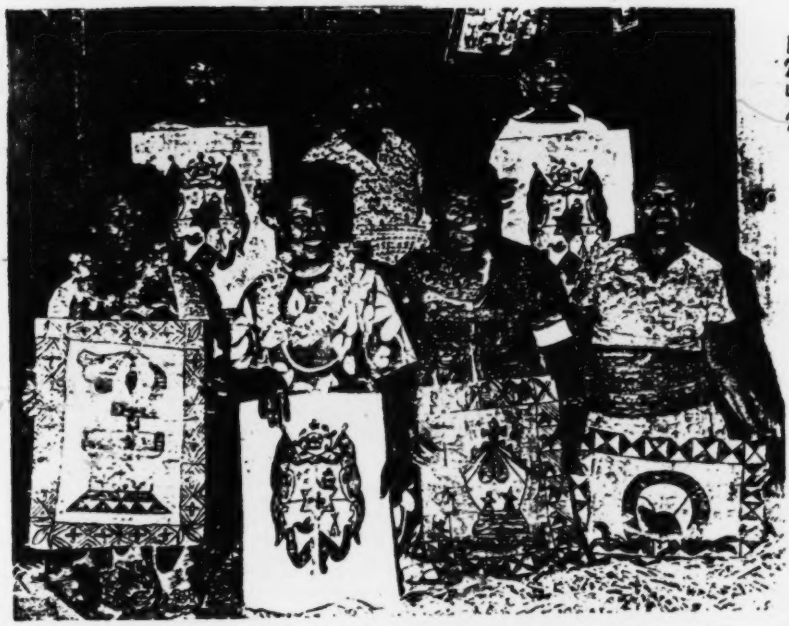
474
490
285
287

"Langa Fonua" is the women's handicraft co-operative which has grown over the past decade, with the support of Queen Salote and Queen Mata'aho, into a prominent association. It helps people in villages and islands off the route of cruise ships to organize and send their crafts to the *Langa Fonua* shops in Nuku'alofa (shown here) and Neiafu, Vava'u to be sold to tourists.

'Oku lala lalei 'aupito 'a Langa Fonua he ngaahi 'aho ni. Kuo 'osi mahalo eni ha ta'u e hongofulu hili 'a hono 'ufuaki kamata 'o e kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki ni, pea 'asili foki 'a hono fai malohi e ngaue ni koe'uhi ko hono poupou'i 'e Kuini Salote, pea mo Kuini Mata'aho foki. 'Oku 'i ai foki e falekoloa 'e taha 'o e Langa Fonua 'i Nuku'alofa ('a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he ta) pea taha 'i Neiafu.

[p. 19]

59: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



142
291
474
287

Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer.

[642]

'Oku **mahino** mei he **fofonga mafimali** 'o e kau tafine ni 'a 'enau takitaha laukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau tafine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kamata e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amelika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamahi Tu'imana skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *lotaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

285
352
431
142
291

'Oku kei fai lahi e **lalanga** 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke faliki 'aki ha fale, pea hoko foki ko e me'a'ofa 'i he taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha putu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kehekehe 'oku fai 'aki e lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamehi Tu'imana 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

would be more likely to succeed on government than on noble estates, and only, of course, in areas where land is available for lease. There is evidence in Tongatapu that some banana-producing cooperatives have achieved success by using vacant land and employing tractors.

A third alternative for landless men is migration, and the 1966 census shows in a number of ways that ". . . the Tongan population has become mobile, both internally and externally . . . the drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai especially and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (p. 11).

Tonga now has thirteen towns and villages each with a population of more than one thousand people; nine of these are situated on Tongatapu island whereas the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups contain only two each. These thirteen towns and villages showed a combined percentage increase of population of 48.3% during the intercensal period, although the two Ha'apai towns combined actually lost population over this period. Population growth in the nine Tongatapu towns and villages ranged from 34.0% to nearly 357.0% (Haveluloto) for the decade from 1956; Nuku'alofa and suburbs (historically three villages) increased over the same period by 6,483 persons (by 70.0%) to a total of 15,685.

Nearly 32.0% of all persons over sixteen living in Tongatapu on the night of the census were born in other parts of the Kingdom, with 14.4% deriving from Ha'apai and 11.4% from the Vava'u group. Some of these people living away from the place where they were born were undoubtedly students and temporary residents from the northern islands, but differential rates of increase for Tongatapu (53.2% during the intercensal period) and the Ha'apai group (6.78%) suggest that there is a higher rate of internal migration than could be explained simply by students and visitors. Walsh has described the process whereby temporary immigrants become permanent residents.[12]

Some imbalance between the sexes is apparent in Tongatapu's excess of males "born elsewhere" over females "born elsewhere". Supporting the argument that many of Tongatapu's immigrants derive from Ha'apai, is the evidence that there is a shortage of males in that group; there are only 491 males per 1,000 persons in the Ha'apai district—the only deviation from the national pattern of male predominance.

* * *

The average age for marriage has increased since 1956 when over 3.0% of all men and over 9.0% of all women were married in the fifteen to nineteen age-group. The 1966 returns indicate that only about 1.0% of the total male population and just over 7.0% of the total female population in this cohort were married. It is possible that some of the reasons for this delay in marriage are the shortage of land in rural areas, the excess of men in urban areas, the increasing cost of traditional weddings, the shortage of and desire for wage employment and money, and the enormous advantage post-primary education gives to obtaining wage employment.

12. Walsh 1967:14.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

unsatisfactory conduct. The Premier, Jiosateki, and the Treasurer, Fotu, were deported to Fiji; they had been lax and had not enforced payment of taxes, it was said, the effect of a hurricane being a plausible excuse. They were also charged with corruption. Sir Everard even threatened to depose and deport the king unless he ceased his financial practices. When this threat, given privately to Tupou, was unheeded, the High Commissioner repeated it in the presence of the chiefs, with the result that the king signed the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty of 1900-01.

In his address to the king and chiefs on 28 December 1904, the High Commissioner declared that the Premier's advice to the king had been

> "a disgrace: he [the king] had placed himself in the hands of a foreign firm . . . If you do not do what is right it is absolutely certain that my king will take your country away from you by force."

At the same time the High Commissioner conveyed to the king and chiefs the policy of the Colonial Office, given before he had left Fiji for Tonga, namely —

> "We are not working towards annexation but are making a genuine attempt to let the Tongan people govern themselves." (40)

The British Government gave a loan to meet Tonga's immediate liabilities. By the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty, 18 January 1905, the British Consul was given a veto over expenditure and over appointments of Europeans to the Tongan public service. The king agreed that lease payments from Government land should be paid into revenue and not regarded as his own perquisites. The king promised also to abide by the Constitution in future and to rule with the consent of his Cabinet.

John Mateialona, a grandson of Tupou I, who might have been included in the royal line of succession if he had not been a Wesleyan, became Premier in 1905, replacing Jiosateki, now deported. Parliament, which had not met since 1903, was called together in 1906, this being only the fifth time it had met since the king's reign began in 1893. Even this Parliament, in 1906, lasted only eight days. Mateialona made a reputation for probity as well as ability; he instituted a budget system, rehabilitated the finances, and set an example of sound administration that was followed by later Governments.

In 1910 a large co-operative company that had exported its members' copra and sold goods in return went into liquidation. An inquiry revealed that the people had been exploited. When the founder of the co-operative company, A. D. Cameron, brought an action against the Consul, W. T. Campbell, and the auditors, these defendants won their case through Mateialona testifying that his Government's action in compulsorily winding up the company was taken in the national interest. However, the king was displeased with what Mateialona had done in this matter, and he was replaced as Premier by Tu'ivakano in 1912. Mateialona was given a title of nobility as Tupouto'a in 1921.

* * * *

At the 1916 Conference of the Free Church, J. B. Watkin celebrated the 50th anniversary of the commencement of his ministry in Tonga; he was then nearly 80 years of age. His only European colleague during the 40 years of separation from the Wesleyan Church was Edwin Harkness, a member of a well-known Methodist family in Bendigo, Victoria, who came in 1910 and ministered in Ha'apai for ten years before entering the regular Methodist ministry